1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

866 593 fingers when unhappy. Withheld emotionality is displayed when an injured child runs to a nearby parent. The usual response of the latter is to scold the youngster for his wild behavior and then to briskly dust his clothes. Any overtures of kindness and affection are readily responded to, however, and girls in particular never lose a responsiveness to caresses and bodily contacts by older siblings and other women.

855 866 593 The father, who has never been as demonstrative as the mother in his affectional handling of the infant, retains some of his more moderate warmth, and we have even observed instances of a father picking up a lap baby whose fretfulness went unnoticed by the mother. Thus when Richard Cross, five, hurt himself while playing he ran to his father, who lifted him and tried to distract him from crying by pointing out a horse across the river, murmuring: "Crying bad animal." Although the man's attention to young children is limited by his economic activities, several instances were noted of children, ranging from four to six, developing close attachments to their fathers, while the mothers were occupied with the care of younger siblings. Under such circumstances fathers often pack youngsters while traveling. Louis Maza once spoke of how, when Eleanor was four years old, he packed her on his back while climbing to the timberline to trap marten. In 1945 Loreen was his constant companion, trailing him all over Lower Post. Generally, however, such close attachment between father and child affords little satisfaction to the boy or girl other than the opportunity to remain in the parent's company. Physical contact between the two is always brief. In some cases dependence of the child on the father is continued into later childhood. [868] While generally it is the boy who, beginning at about seven or eight, occasionally accompanies his father trapping and hunting, often daughters enter this relationship and, in thus carrying on their early emotional attachment to the father, learn skills which are usually expected to be transmitted to sons.

597 855 593 When, as frequently happens, the family through death is deprived of the presence of one or both parents, the process of emotional rejection becomes more severe. Over ten per cent of the children in Kaska society at the time of field work had lost either one or both parents. Emotional withdrawal is particularly strong in the case of adopted children and orphans who, although they may receive physical care from foster parents or grandparents, receive little emotional gratification. One exception to this statement was observed in the behavior of the Cross brothers' mother, who was raising the four year old son of her late daughter. The child was never seen separated from this very old lady who would sit with his head in her lap, murmer to him constantly, and devotedly keep flies and mosquitoes away from his face. This is extremely atypical behavior toward a child of that age.

593 855 Obviously the pattern of family relationships which has been described offers a child little opportunity for exhibitionism. However, sometimes the visits of relatives and friends temporarily transform the family into an audience ready to laugh and applaud the child's behavior. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which young children from four to six respond to such stimulation. Beyond that age, however, adult interest in children is slight and, as we shall see, when it appears is most often practical and educative.

●861 855 If the child continues to live with both parents, the father is ideally regarded as the most important disciplinarian. Usually, however, it is the mother who actually punishes. The ideal aim of punishment is to make the child submissive to, or "scared" of, the parents. Such

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

submission is theoretically valued, because it is felt to create an atmosphere in which parents can most effectively direct the development of socially expected behavior. To "please" a child too much is to spoil him and make him "wild like squirrel." Manifestly, few demands are made on the child for the first six or seven years. During this period obligations of obedience are slight. Following these years, the economic role of the girl begins and may be accompanied by somewhat greater regulation of her activities, but for the greater part of the time children of both sexes are left to their own devices.

The Kaska family does not reveal a picture of authoritarianism run riot. There is no tendency to deprecate the child and force his humility in relation to parents. While one or two fathers are tyrannical, the father's role is reduced in importance by the fact that he is often absent from the family hunting and trapping. During such periods the mother assumes control of the household and operates independently—that is, without referring authority back to her husband. There is no evidence that punishment is ever delayed until a father's return to camp. There is also no reason to believe that the mother is laxer than the father in dispensing punishment or that children more readily obey the latter parent.

Scolding, corporal punishment, and threats are the principal techniques employed by parents to maintain discipline. We will consider these forms in sequence. Scolding is employed for minor failures to behave according to parental wishes. Children who play near the river or climb down the cutbank are scolded. Playing in mud and dirt, fighting, nagging, and masturbation are also reprimanded. Any wild or unruly behavior, such as shouting or horsing around, may bring rebukes, especially if the child is a girl. Sharp reprimands to prevent very young children from touching objects like violins or candles also fall in this category of discipline. Watchfulness and scolding are often abandoned if the parent becomes distracted, but sometimes scolding is reinforced by threats of corporal punishment, a mother breaking off a twig or picking up a stick to emphasize her warning. Scolding is closely related to that form of discipline known as "talking to" a child, that is, advising the youngster of socially approved standards of behavior, and, in the case of a girl, may persist until marriage.

Corporal punishment is utilized for more serious offenses or persistent disregard of parental advice. Stealing, childhood sexuality, uncontrollable play, and deliberate disobedience are punished by beating. Corporal punishment is ideally disapproved of for children; "good people," it is said, "don't lick their kids." Manifestly there are indeed a number of people who apparently refrain from using force upon children. On the other hand there are a few men who are widely known for their authoritarianism and for the vehemence with which they inflict corporal punishment. This extreme of behavior is generally disapproved. Most parents go no further than shaking a child or pummeling it with the clenched fist. Generally the upper part of the child's body is beaten. Spanking the buttocks was never observed. Corporal punishment for boys is generally discarded long before puberty. A girl, however, may be beaten by her mother as long as she lives in the family.

A number of threats are used to instill fear in children, with the object of making the latter's behavior conform to the parents' wishes. Children are kept from leaving camp in Lower Post by being warned of the dangers of trucks and horses and, in the winter settlements, are made afraid of vague dangers of the bush, wolves, and the menace of night.

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861 Children who want to play outdoors at night are warned that an owl or other animal will come around and get them. To keep children from wandering off in the bush, threats of the danger of getting lost are frequently employed. Old Man several times warned the ethnographer's son of the danger of wolves. At the same time he deplored his fourteen year old daughter's manifest fear of these animals. To control masturbation and premarital sexuality, children are warned of insanity. Control through threats, except with regard to sexual behavior, is rarely continued beyond childhood. Certain types of discipline are apparently absent. Shame, humiliation, and ridicule are not employed against children. Punishment in public is rare and when it occurs is never done with the aim of public humiliation.

855 Discipline is restricted to the family and is rarely shared by other adults. A man even refrains from disciplining his wife's child by a former husband and a woman maintains a similar reserve toward her husband's previous children. Beyond infancy, a mother often entrusts her children to the care of grandparents and other relatives. Thus when Peter Lang went to Whitehorse, he brought four year old Marie to Mildred Lang's home with the girl's blankets and went off. Mildred was not too pleased with her brother's act, and said that Peter's brother's wife could very well have taken care of the child. The amount of care received in such circumstances is often negligent and little supervision is exercised. More authority is exercised when care is delegated to siblings, older siblings often being firm disciplinarians who do not hesitate to follow scolding with corporal punishment. In general, however, relations between young siblings are close and warm and rarely marked by aggression or hostility.

Unrelated or related adolescents are an important source of attention to young children. Boys from twelve to eighteen often demonstrate a genuine affectionate interest in younger boys and girls, with whom they arrange games and provoke chasing. Lying in a camp, an adolescent boy becomes fair game for youngsters who climb on him and generally exploit his tolerance. Adolescent girls are also affectionate toward younger siblings as well as to unrelated children. Largely, however, this attention depends on the adolescent's momentary disposition and is extremely transitory, the older boy or girl soon tiring of the play or else becoming distracted by other interests. Nevertheless a lifelong warm relationship is developed with these older playmates, especially when they are maternal aunts or uncles who live in close proximity to the growing child.

Two aspects of childhood remaining to be considered are routine bodily care and protection from danger. Beyond infancy, the child receives less systematic bodily care. Washing and clean clothes are often neglected and mealtimes are erratic, particularly when older children in Lower Post venture away from home and play in neighboring camps. An effort is sometimes made to have children of up to nine or ten years of age in bed by ten o'clock, but usually they are allowed to remain up until the parents themselves are ready to retire. Except in the extremely low temperatures of winter, parents show little concern for the child's physical comfort; around camp children are rarely asked if they are hungry or cold, nor is notice taken of wet clothes or moccasins. However, in traveling with a boat or toboggan, bread is kept available for a young child. In winter great caution is exercised to assure the child's adequate protection from the environment.

Protection from danger includes keeping very young children from playing with sharp

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

implements, going into the forest alone, leaving the house in cold temperatures, approaching the gunwales of boats, and venturing near river banks or too near a fire. Failure to heed such advice is punished by scolding or with threats intended to inspire fear. As children pass the age of five the river is no longer forbidden as a place to play nor are children prevented from handling scissors, knives, or axes (Plate 10, a). By that age they have learned to be careful of open fires and stoves and limit their activities to the main part of the community or winter settlement, never venturing into the bush alone.

Education. Most education for living is received by the child in the course of performing routine activities. Such education is unformalized and undirected. Our characterization above of the training of dogs reflects some of the features of the child's education. Instruction and direction are rarely explicit. "Do this," is the formula, and the child is left with the task of working out the details of an activity for himself. If the young girl is asked to make a fire and tries to light large pieces of wood without first splitting kindling, the task will be taken over by an adult. The child may then observe the correct sequences for the completion of the activity, but few people trouble to drill these into the learner. Sometimes generalized instructions are furnished to children who, in carrying these out, often become confused. Thus we observed one fourteen year old girl make tea by putting the leaves into cold water. Nobody referred to the muddy quality of the beverage. The same kind of teaching was used with the ethnographer. Activities were illustrated but never explained in detail, the exposition of principles being ignored. On the second day of a journey with dog team and toboggan, the handling of the vehicle was entrusted to the ethnographer without a word of instruction regarding the technique of managing the dogs. Meanwhile the guide walked on ahead, rapidly breaking trail, so that when the traces fouled and the dogs rebelled, he had to retrace almost an eighth of a mile. Another observation that is worthwhile making so far as education is concerned, deals with the relatively narrow range of stimulation available to children, particularly in winter, when youngsters lacking toys are confined to small cabins and rarely interact with parents.

The girl's education is derived from her household duties and begins quite early. From the age of six or seven, she hauls water and packs wood. A few years later she learns to cut and sew moccasins, often practicing with scraps of moosehide; tends the rabbit snares; cuts wood; washes clothes, and helps with simple cooking—all by following the examples of her mother or older sisters and with a minimum of verbal instruction. A young girl may at first rebel at economic chores and seek to shirk them, but by the time she is nine or ten years old the rebellion has almost totally disappeared and she is only anxious to complete her duties quickly so as to have free time available. Boys' education begins somewhat later, at the age of eight. Now they begin to accompany fathers or older brothers on short fishing, hunting, and trapping trips. The boy learns masculine skills by observing older men prepare snowshoe frames, hew lumber, or manufacture implements, vehicles, buildings, and tools. While the boy assists older men in these activities, by collecting firewood and handling tools, his real economic contribution begins much later than the girl's. Not until he is near puberty, does the boy begin to manufacture apparatus on his own or go out to hunt large game with an armament.

As early as the age of three, a child begins to try using snowshoes. Such learning is

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Adjustive expression. Up to this point discussion has been limited to aspects of utilitarianism revealed in adaptive measurefulness. We now propose to examine the expression of this dominant motivation in the individual's psychological adjustment to phenomena like time, direction, and concept formation.

The Indian's slight concern with abstract systems of generalization is reflected first in the relative timelessness of the people. The best apprehended divisions of time are either based on the alternation between night and day, the passage of seasons, or else derived from the duration of cultural tasks (such as the period of time required to build a toboggan, make snowshoes, or clean a hide). Superimposed upon these relatively concrete divisions of time are the introduced patterns of a more abstract apportioning of the day, month, and year. Why have the Indians been slow in orienting themselves to the latter temporal divisions? Any explanation for this lag must take into account the dominant motivation which is threatened by these more abstract systems. Utilitarianism includes the need to be concrete. The abstract conception of time is meaningless, since it divorces the individual from realistically perceived units which he feels best suited to control.

This point of view may perhaps be better illustrated by abstract spatial orientation. The points of the compass mean little to the Kaska Indian. Instead, he equates himself to things of immediate personal significance, like the camp, a ridge, a range of hills, a river, or the direction of the harvest. The native patterns of temporal and spatial orientation may also be interpreted by saying that the concrete gives the Indian a sense of mastery, while the abstract means being control. Mastery, therefore, is an aim of utilitarianism just as it is also related to egocentricity. In his orientation to time and space, the Kaska Indian is expressing both these dominant motivations in an attempt to preserve his self-sufficiency. It follows that any increasing readiness and ability to accept abstract temporal and spatial ideas would have to develop in terms of the native's world and self-views, or would follow from important basic personality changes.

Educational methods displayed in relation to children, with their neglect of principles and stress on learning by doing, also reflect the lack of native to conceptualize, as well as the lack of interest in planning to which we will now turn attention.

Utilitarianism motivates the person's concrete attention to the present, whose significance is most readily perceived by the personality than past or future. The absence of chalizing or sentimental attitudes toward the past is related to both a focus on practical contemporary problems and an absence of intense interest in the future. As a result of an inability to reflect the past, the individual is unable to systematize his own life history beyond a series of sequential events, and often unintimated in even doing day within an orderly time frame. Examples of the inability to anticipate the future questionally are provided from the ethnographer's discussion of the possibility that the Cassiar might become more familiar to white people, with a consequent influx of visitors. What would this mean to the Indian? Few men, with whom this potential problem was discussed, reacted to it with more than polite attention. The picture became even more extreme when individuals were hypothetically confronted with their own future. We have seen Gerald Leonard's reaction to this subject marked by a lack of personal indication or aspiration and little evidence of genuine emotional interest.* Gerald is an adolescent. In Nitla, a young adult, we find even less-in-

*See above, p. [illegible].

1: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

[illegible] [illegible] Ax Owl,[illegible] to point out the manner in which this tale served to express Old Man's personality conflicts. Now we turn to another function of this tale, seeing it as the projection of emotional rejection and a representation of the mother pictured as a deceiver. The story also indicates a certain equivalence between the husband-wife and parent-child relationships. The girl's mother, taking the wife's place, symbolizes the equivalence of the maternal and wifely roles. Unconsciously, husbands are children fed by their mothers. They are dependent on wives as they were dependent on the maternal care in infancy, but in the tale the mother reveals her deceitfulness and must be punished. Similar unconscious ideas may also be at the root of the aggression which men direct against women during intoxication, and also in the rejection of the breasts as some stimulate sexual situations. A similar story of a deceitful wife is found in "The Blind Old Man," in which the man again kills the mother equivalent. In "A Tribe of Women" we are represented a flight from parents and the discovery of new mothers. When the younger brother allows himself to be killed by these women he gives into a regressive wish to be incorporated by the mother and attains his passive goal by being buried in the women's camp. That men should be indicated in these tales as experiencing somewhat greater frustration from emotional rejection than women can perhaps be partly explained in terms of the girl's greater opportunities to repair the wound of rejection. This will be discussed below in connection with identifications and childhood activities.

[illegible] The grizzly bear fantasy may be regarded as another example of a projective system reporting the child's terror upon encountering emotional rejection. The mother is here represented (familiarly, as far as western clinical practice is concerned) in a large and dangerous animal against which the person feels powerless. It is not coincidental that another function of this fantasy is to express the anxiety which girls feel in the face of sexual situations, where anxiety threatens to break down the emotional isolation adopted as a defense against rejection.

[illegible] Parental attitudes and authority. Parental authority plays a relatively slight and unstructurate role in the Eudes child's life. Attitudes toward toilet training are not severe and sphincter regulation is not critically expected before the child possesses the capacities for voluntary control. Punishment is rare and generally limited to situations of defaulting while incorporation has no end in which to grow. There is no chance of authoritarian supervision such as would emphasize the child's humiliation and complete submission to his parents. Native education is also characterized by this lack of authoritarianism, little effort is made to specifically direct the child's assimilation of cultural routines and in a great deal of learning children are left to work out their own answers to problems. In general, the child grows up easily and independently and with a large amount of freedom from supervision and authority. What are the consequences of these patterns for Eudes personality?

[illegible] In the first place, we note that sphincter training is not severe and therefore is not a situation in which parental disciplines can frustrate the child's expectation. Integrated as it is with other parental attitudes, toilet training is conducive to developing a sense of independence and personal responsibility. The chances of severe discipline or authoritarian attitudes therefore leads to the cultural situation a force of persistiveness. The child's individuality is respected and no sense of blind obedience is ever imposed. Among the most

particularly of the Kaska child. From this we also learn more about how the empirical reality system gets its start in childhood. Among the Kaska, emphasis is placed on good infant care, an oedipal pattern which assures independence learning, discouragement from playing with impractical toys, encouragement of independence and self-sufficiency as defenses against emotional isolation, and the impossibility of overtly indulging passive dependent attitudes in parents.

The oedipal pattern we have described can certainly not lead to the projection of a strong authoritarian deity, and indeed the Kaska have refurbished the creation myth partially taken over from the Bible. Jesus (in God) is several times pushed by his problems and there is no idea of God as manipulator. The boring idea of people as fallible and limited in their resources is another effect of the oedipal pattern and goes to reinforce the egocentric dictum: "I must do this by myself."

The influences of early parental attitudes, in association with moderate age security, on other aspects of flexibility are not hard to discern. With few rewards for the fulfillment of obligations, children are not required to learn the meaning of futurity. Compulsive qualities like duty and performance are not demanded of the child nor are they available in his social environment for imitation. Similarly such compulsive ways of behaving are not acquired by the child while undergoing toilet training, where the stress on the child's preparedness and conformity are relatively mild. Few rules or formalized methods of procedure are given the child to follow. He sees no emphasis on planning and his moderate age strength does not lead him to attempts to develop such systems. As a result, the adult is marked by a flexible approach to life which is largely used for passive purposes, to remove him from critical situations which threaten his ego resources.[9]

Identifications. Important similarities is given to the dominant motivations by the identifications which the child creates in the oedipal situation. One impression of the effects of these identifications comes in the [redacted] and unconscious attitudes characterizing adult interpersonal relations. There is [redacted] doubt that in the very early oedipal situation, before the restrictions of maternal emotional rejection, the mother is the most important figure in the child's life. Largely this importance is due to the mother's gratificatory role, but it also follows from the fact that the father's economic routines frequently separate him from his family to have childhood the mother remains a powerful and significant figure but the father now becomes an equally important personage and one who suggests himself as a target for identification by children of both sexes. It must be pointed out, however, that identification with a father, or adequate father substitute, is often difficult when family ties are broken and children are raised by the mother or a mother surrogate like the mother's sister or the child's grandmother. Such broken families are quite common among the Kaska. The structure of the family too has an important bearing on what identifications can be

[9] Among the South African Lovedu, the absence of overt personal authority also appears to be correlated with a lack of competitiveness and rivalries for personal recognition. In the society, too, we find that children receive a lot of maternal affection during their years of age. Nevertheless there is evidence that Lovedu accomplish a conditioning different from Kaska flexibility, being related to a feeling for membership and a concern for serving. Among the Kaska flexibility is associated with a passive attention from serving the Ego and Ego. The Kaska of a Kaska (Kaska) 130-136

Hammocks Hammocks were commonly used in the lodge by the Tahltan, and so far as current tradition goes are as ancient as the carriers already described. They consisted of a piece of strong moose or caribou leather suspended by two parallel ropes of rawhide or babiche. The edges of the skin forming the sides of the hammock were stitched down over the ropes, enclosing them loosely. The hammock was kept stretched by sticks placed crossways between the two ropes, preventing the latter from coming too closely together. These sticks generally had notches in the ends to prevent their slipping off the ropes. The hammock was arranged for height to suit the convenience of the mother in attending the child. Babies were swung to sleep in these hammocks. At the present day blanket or canvas is generally used instead of skins and twine ropes instead of rawhide etc. 352

Infancy and Childhood Children were suckled often for a period of two or three years, when they were able to eat almost all kinds of food. Young children were fed the most tender parts of meat picked for them by their elders, but at so early age all attention of this kind was neglected and the child helped itself to whatever it could get. Some mothers at first masticated food for their children. Children learned through observation and were also taught by their elders. Mothers generally 353 961

§54 taught their girls and the maternal uncles were chief
[§54] instructors of boys. Some fathers, however, did consider-
able teaching of their sons. However, very little
serious teaching was done until children reached the
age of puberty.

The father, mother, and uncles sometimes lectured the children on behaviour, etc., and gave them information generally in answer to questions. Mythological and other stories were frequently told to children. Children were rarely thrashed and were not
[§55] scolded excepting sometimes by the mother; parents were
very considerate and lenient to their offspring.
§57 Children spent much of their time playing together and amusing themselves as children do in all lands, and little restraint was exercised by their elders. Girls generally played only with girls and boys with boys.

§57 They commenced to work at an early age, how-
§58 ever, and with increasing years, they played less and worked more. Little girls helped their mothers in many ways by looking after the younger children and doing errands etc. Boys learned shooting, snaring small game and carrying of burdens etc., at a very early age. Little lads of ten and twelve years often accompanied their fathers or uncles on short hunting trips and worked as hard as their ability and strength allowed.
§61 Parents were very fond of their children and harsh

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

553 the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[5]

854 For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In
855 this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked. Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a
[863] knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the bush came to be given, toileting habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite promoted the rapid duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong
857 places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on rawhide lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

● 861 Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take
863 over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent, although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant
867 interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided
865 babiche. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become
864 cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch.

868 Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to ac-
892 company his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

[5] Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 37.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

weapons like a bow. Persistence in such behavior, she learned, might affect a brother's heart. Upon approaching puberty a boy began to seek a power dream with the active encouragement of his father. From now on he began to sleep in his own camp or perhaps in the company of older unmarried brothers. The custom probably reinforced the brother-sister avoidance and is also said to have safeguarded youths in the event of a surprise enemy raid.

Dease River Kaska. To eat fowl, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft foods in pregnancy promised to facilitate delivery. Parturition took place in a birth camp, that consisted of a circular wall of willows surrounding a fireplace. Here older women brought food from the main camp and assisted in the process of delivery. An ordinary knife served for cutting the umbilicus. Later the stump of the cord was dried, wrapped in a piece of tanned skin and sewn to the baby's hat, where it remained until the child began to walk. An infant would cry for a long time if this amulet became lost. Eventually the cord would be cached in a tree, where the skin-wrapped afterbirth had already been deposited (although it was probably not necessary that the same tree be employed). Following delivery the woman remained isolated and avoided sex relations for about three months.

Twins represented good fortune and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians preferred boy babies to girls because the former would become hunters. Apparently female infanticide was sometimes condoned.[4]

Breast feeding lasted until about the age of three. On journeys, when a child began to cry the whole group of women might halt while it nursed. In winter during outdoor feeding fire had to be made for the nursing woman's comfort. No principles of naming were specified and teknonymy was denied.

Either parent exercised discipline. Children beyond the age of five who misbehaved or refused to heed parents' warnings were struck with the hands alone. Crawling in a young child met no discouragement. Toys included the buzz toy, bull-roarer, rawhide rattle, hoop to be pushed by a pole, and hollow moose hooves hung on a pole, which a child delighted in shaking. Dolls were not played with but string figures, a pastime said to have been derived from the Taku Indians, furnished children with a pleasant occupation.

ADOLESCENCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Coinciding with the vision quest, which in a sense marked the completion of childhood, a boy received training in hardihood and endurance.[5] In autumn he stripped and plunged into icy water. When winter came, groups of naked boys rolled in soft snow, after which some older men whipped the youths with willows. A boy never cried out in pain during such a trial but he could protect his chest with crossed arms and might escape when he reached the limit of endurance. A mild com-

[4] Among the Tlingit, infant girls were sometimes strangled. Twins being regarded as an "evil omen" were also put to death. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 121.

[5] Perhaps the exercises began earlier and finished at puberty, as among the Navaho. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People* (1947), 36-37.

862

862 WEANING AND FOOD TRAINING--adult beliefs, standards, and aims concerning weaning and appropriate eating habits for children; special reasons for weaning (e.g., insufficient lactation, illness or pregnancy of mother); normal age at weaning (e.g., from breast, from bottle); abruptness or gradualness of transition; method of weaning (e.g., separation from mother, ridicule, application of bitter substances to nipple); reactions of children to weaning; imposition of rules about eating; teaching of table manners; resistance of children to food training; etc. See also:

Diet . . . . . 861 Etiquette 876
Eating and table manners . . . . . 864 Infant feeding 868

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

as fully as possible during the period immediately following birth. Lounging during the first ten days or so after delivery might canalize a man toward that kind of life.[8]

Wiped clean with moss the newborn baby was wrapped in a plaited rabbit skin robe. After 24 hours it first received the breast. Two considerations explained the delay in feeding. Immediate nursing of a newborn baby could be fatal because its stomach was still weak. Even when the child suckled for the first time, people took care that it received only enough milk "to wet his mouth." In the second place, the colostrum did not constitute suitable food in the minds of the Indians. Hence the substance was expressed on the ground by massage, a process in which the lactating woman was aided by a companion. In contrast to the colostrum breast milk must never be allowed to touch the ground, lest no milk would flow for a subsequent baby. When it became necessary to clear swollen breasts people collected the expressed milk in a gut container, which they cached in a tree. To "teach" a young infant to nurse, the mother brushed the nipple against its lips until the sucking started, whereupon she might offer further help by lightly squeezing her breast. The Kaska believed that mother's milk originated from ingested food and liquids. Meat stock and grease could increase the supply and nursing women had fat meat and grease urged upon them. If after three days of trying a woman lacked sufficient milk to content her child, she might solicit another woman to act as wet nurse. However, a nurse's milk was less beneficent than the mother's so that a baby fed through this means did not grow rapidly. Animal brain mixed with water was sometimes used as a substitute for milk, for example, in event of a mother's illness. Unless prevented by the mother's illness or pregnancy a child nursed for about three years. Weaning at that age was advisable because it would prevent the child from drawing blood from its mother's breast. An older sibling never shared the breast with a subsequent baby. Displacement of this kind not infrequently stirred up aggression toward a younger sibling, behavior that earned reproach but never corporal punishment. To assist weaning a mother sometimes forced the child's lip into its mouth with the nipple, repeating the act until all inclination to nurse disappeared. Beginning at about the age of two a child received fat to suck. After that feeding regularly included a little ground (pre-chewed?) meat.

A baby spent all of its time with the mother. Should the latter die, any woman might be asked to look after the child until it was grown. Then the child returned to its father who paid the foster mother for her care. It is likely that a woman's sisters provided foster motherhood and wet nursing when such needs arose and from these women a widower also secured a new spouse. Naming occurred when the child began to speak (earlier according to another informant). Either the father or mother assigned a suitable name and one that rarely reflected any special proclivity or trait of

[8] It is likely that a man's activity at this time served functions analogous to those realized by the couvade, namely, that the father "remains balanced in this way his loss of participation in the birth." (Shimkin, *Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone* [1947], 21.) The Chilkat Tlingit also secluded the parturient in a special birth hut. For four days the mother ate and drank little but remained in bed for twelve days. Hunting and work were avoided by her husband. Drucker, *Cultural Element Distribution: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 300-307.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Infants are breast fed, occasionally receiving supplementary bottles. No rationalization for the extra feeding could be obtained. A large variety of bottles are used for this purpose including, besides the regular nursing variety, beer bottles and even small perfume bottles with a mouth wide enough to fit the rubber nipples locally purchased.

Suckling is a casual process of which the woman exhibits little concern. A young infant is nursed outdoors, in traders' stores, and in church whenever it frets or cries. Whereas a baby nurses as it reclines in the mother's lap, an older child, who can hold itself erect, often suckles as it perches on the mother's knee while the latter is eating, idling, or even carrying out such tasks as scraping moosehide (Plate 8, *a*). No fondling of babies was observed during the nursing situation. An older child may signal its desire to nurse by touching the mother's breast or, if it can crawl or toddle, pull aside the nursing mother's loosely fastened dress. It is recognized that a mother's milk is affected by her diet. Most often, particularly for a small infant, the supplementary bottle is held by the mother, but sometimes it is tilted on the baby's body supported by a light pillow or folded blanket. The contents of a bottle are warmed for a young baby.

Weaning from the breast generally occurs before two years, but some children nurse until they are three years old. Earlier weaning occurs when a baby is displaced by the birth of a sibling. However even young babies are given a solid piece of meat or fat to suck, and the amount of solid food gradually assumes a larger place in the baby's diet as weaning approaches. During weaning, milk continues to be served in both the bottle and cup. Crying for the breast leads the mother to pick up the baby and carry it, but if this does not lead to soothing, nursing is permitted. An older child who remains persistent in his attempts to nurse may be mildly criticized and teased about his infantile habits. Pacifiers are also used in weaning. Weaning is not abrupt and most children appear satisfied to accept the bottle as a substitute for the breast.

Kaska society is infant centered. This is brought out in the ready affection and attention devoted to babies. It is also illustrated by the fact that in this society it is not an older sibling who cares for the infant while the mother does the housework. Rather the reverse holds true; a woman with a nearly adolescent daughter has little to do but take care of a young baby. Often even the lap baby is left to the care of the older sibling, while the mother devotes all her time to the infant. Ideally children are desired and, unless there are too many of the same sex, there is no preference for either boys or girls.

Bodily care of the infant is manifested in diapering, washing, clothing, and packing. Diaper cloths are pieces of flannel of various sizes. About seven or ten layers of such material are laid out and the child placed in the center. These cloths are then passed between the baby's legs and pinned at the sides. Sometimes a layer of dry moss is placed in the center of a single piece of material to aid in absorbing the infant's excreta. Diaper cloths are changed when the outermost layer becomes damp. In addition to these cloths, the neonate wears an undershirt and dress, blouse, or rompers. He is generally closely bundled in a clean blanket which is snugly pinned around the body so that the legs lie straight together. In warm weather the hands are exposed (Plate 4, *c*). While the infant sleeps, the blanket is loosely thrown over his face. With this binding the child is placed in the baby pack and carried on the mother's back. After a few months, blanketing is replaced by rompers, overalls or a

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

gradual, but by six the child is already able to cover ten or more miles with these travel aids. Children begin to feed themselves at about three years of age.

No effort is made to give a child sex instruction, and since people rarely discuss sexual topics, children are limited in the information which they may acquire about this subject. Sexual prohibitions are explained obliquely and with many euphemisms, so that the prevailing attitude toward sex as something highly personal and restricted cannot fail to be transmitted. On the other hand, some awareness of sexuality may be gained when a child loiters in the mixed company of adolescents and unmarried young people, who engage in sexual teasing and sometimes make threats or references without regard for the presence of youngsters. Since parents and children sleep in the same dwelling room, it is likely that children are early exposed to sexual activities, the meaning of which is not explained. When adults are intoxicated there is also a relaxation of sexual taboos from which youngsters are not protected. A sense of modesty begins to be inculcated in the child when he is three or four years old, and children of that age will not urinate or defecate in the presence of other people. Now the mother also warns a child of any indecent exposure in a public place.

Some effort is indirectly or directly made to inculcate induration to pain, fatigue, and cold. Young children of five and six are often required to walk up to fifteen miles with parents who are bound for a trap line or hunting place. Minor ailments are seldom regarded as an excuse for delaying such journeys. In winter some parents directly advise an older child not to try to keep his hands warm all the time but to get used to having the fingers "half frozen." In that way, it is explained, they will become better able to withstand cold. Children are also warned of the dangers present in the environment when the temperature is very low; for example they are taught that in such temperatures the bare fingers or mouth must never touch metal.

With regard to formal education, most of the parents are ready to send their children to summer mission school and, at least in early years, try to insist on such attendance. Schooling is not valued for opportunities which it opens for the child, but rather for the advantages it offers parents. Commenting on his grandson's education, River Joe expressed this attitude when he said: "Me boss that kid . . . I raise him. Learn something, he good for me that way." The school in Lower Post follows a leisurely program of instruction. Counting and reading occupy a fractional place in the curriculum, which also attempts to teach religion, values of cleanliness and hard work, and even includes the teaching of French and English folksongs.

In 1945 the mission, in conjunction with the Indian Affairs Branch, sent eight children ranging from five to twelve years old to a Catholic boarding school at Grouard, Alberta, 700 miles south of Lower Post. Here they will receive two years of education. Heretofore such outside education has been limited to one or two youths going to the mission boarding school at Lejac, on the Pacific Coast.[17] The value of such short term education is, of course, limited. Richard Day and Harry Lang, who were both educated in boarding schools, are capable of simple writing with poor spelling. In Harry, education also contributed to some dissatisfaction with the limited stimulation of Lower Post.

Many young children, from four to eight, express relatively little animation or spon-

[17] The school was built with Government funds and is taught by nuns. See Carroll, *The Vicariate of Prince Rupert* (1945), 14–15.